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الفهـــــــرس

الصفحة

- **الافتتاحيّة** 07
- **مقدّمة** 08
- **دراسات لغويّة** 10

– **المفعوليّة والمستثنى أدوارا ودلالات إعرابيّةً**. د. حمّادي زمزم (جامعة منوبة، تونس) 11

– **إشكالات ترجمة العبارات المتكلّسة**. د. سمر الغانمي (جامعة تونس، تونس) 36

- **دراسات حضاريّة** 54

– **زرادشت بين التاريخيّ والمتخيّل**. د. فيصل الهرّابي (جامعة قفصة، تونس) 55

– **الحيوان وتمظهر العجائبيّ في تشكيل صورة الإمام لدى الشيعة، قراءة في كتاب (معاجز آل البيت)**.

د. نجم الدين النفّاتي (جامعة قفصة، تونس) 75

– **تمثّلات السود في كتب الأخبار والمرويّات: قراءة نقديّة في جدليّة الإقصاء والاحتواء**. د. خديجة عزري (جامعة قفصة، تونس) 96

- **دراسات أدبيّة** 114

– **تطويع السرد في الشعر العربيّ الحديث، قراءة في قصيدة "طوق الياسمين" لنزار قبّاني**. د. فتحي خليفي (جامعة تونس) 115

– **دراسة في الخطاب الروائي المقموع رواية (الجنقو مسامير الأرض) أنموذجًا**. د. عزالدين علي مختار علي (جامعة النيلين، السودان). 142

– **الرواية النسائيّة الحديثة في عمان، الجوهرة والقبطان لزوينة الكلباني أنموذجا**.

أ.د. أحمد الناوي بدري (جامعة صفاقس، تونس) 165

- **دراسات اجتماعيّة** 190

– **فنون العرائس في الثقافة العربيّة: من الطقس المقدّس إلى التمظهر الجمالي.** د. نزار السعيدي (جامعة قفصة، تونس) 191

– **سلطة اللباس وأداء الجندر في التجارب الأدائية المعاصرة لتانيا فيرير (Tania Ferrier)، يوكو أونو (Yoko Ono)، نزكيت إكيجي (Nezaket Ekici).**

د. كوثر الميساوي (جامعة قرطاج، تونس) 217

- The Economic and Social Backgrounds of the Ridda Movements in Yemen.

Prof. Jamel ABDOULI (University of Tunis, Tunisia) 03

- Diderot, Flaubert et l'inscription du savoir dans le roman.

Dr. Wael TABBABI (Université de Gafsa, Tunisie) 21

The Economic and Social Backgrounds of the Ridda Movements in Yemen

Prof. Jamel ABDOULI[1]

ملخّص:

يتركّز اهتمامنا في هذه الدّراسة على الخلفيّات الاقتصاديّة والاجتماعيّة لمختلف حركات الردّة، التي كانت قد عمّت بلاد اليمن في أواخر عهد النّبي محمد (ص) وخلافة أبي بكر. وقد تبيّن من خلال فحص مختلف الظّروف التّاريخيّة، التي حفّت بظهور هذه الحركات أنّها لم تكن مجرّد حركات ردّة دينيّة بقدر ما كانت سلسلة من الانتفاضات على مجموعة من الأوضاع الاقتصاديّة والاجتماعيّة، التي كانت تعيشها بلاد العرب الجنوبيّة خلال هذه الفترة المبكّرة من التاريخ الإسلامي. أمّا الجموع العريضة من المتمرّدين والذين كانوا يشكّلون القاعدة الجماهيريّة الرّئيسيّة لأغلب هذه الحركات، فلم يكونوا سوى عوامّ وشذّاذ أهل القرى والبوادي الطّامحين إلى التخلّص من حيف واستغلال العناصر الأرستقراطيّة المتمثّلة أساسا في أبناء الفرس وزعماء القبائل وكبار الملاّك "العقاريّين" الذين كانوا يسعون من جهتهم إلى المحافظة على مواقعهم في قمّة الهرم الاجتماعي وإن كان ذلك نظير إعلان الولاء والخضوع لقوى خارجيّة دخيلة على البلاد.

الكلمات المفاتيح: ردّة، اليمن، تاريخ، اقتصاد، مجتمع.

Abstract:

Our interest in this study focuses on the economic and social backgrounds of the various Ridda movements, which had spread throughout Yemen at the end of the lifetime of the Prophet Mohammad and the caliphate of Abu Bakr. Through examining the various historical circumstances that surrounded the emergence of these movements, it became clear that they were not merely movements of religious apostasy as much as they were a series of uprisings against a group of economic and social conditions, which the South Arabia were

[1] Associate Professor in Medieval History at the Preparatory Institute for Literary Studies and Humanities of Tunis -University of Tunis.

experiencing during this early period of Islamic history. As for the broad masses of rebels who constituted the main mass base for most of these movements, they were rarely anything other than populaces and deviants from the villages and desert areas, aspiring to get rid of the injustice and exploitation of the aristocratic elements, represented mainly by Persian Abna, tribal chieftains, and large real estate owners ,who, for their part, were seeking to maintain their positions at the top of the social pyramid, even if this was in exchange for declaring loyalty and submission to external forces alien to this country.

Keywords :Ridda, Yemen, History, Economy, Society.

Introduction

The Ridda movements in Yemen represented one of the most difficult challenges facing the Islamic state in Medina at the end of the life of the Prophet Mohammad and the caliphate of Abu Bakr, because suppressing them and eliminating their symbols took time and costs great sacrifices in men and money. These movements began during the lifetime of the prophet in the form of false prophecy. It was headed by Abhala ibn Ka'b al-Ansi, followed by a second movement led by Qais ibn Maksuh al-Muradi, and a third in the Hadhramaut region under the leadership of al-Ash'ath ibn Qais al-Kindi, accompanied in the meantime by similar rebellious movements in the region of Tihama (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :167; Tabari, *Tarikh* III :185-187; Baladhuri, *Futuh* : 131- 198. Yaqubi, *Tarikh* I:128-132; Nuwairi, *Nihayat* XIX :49-60; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat*, :195 et seq; Kila'I, *al-Iktifa* :151). It is easy to notice that these movements were not apostasies from a religious point of view as much as they were, in large part, a series of uprisings against economic and social conditions that Yemen was experiencing until this period of its history (Shuja'a, 1987 :245; Daghfous, 2002 I:68-81; 2001: 17-27, Saad Abboud, 2009) :139-158. Shoufany, 1972 : 107). In addition, many events that took place in Yemen since the end of the tenth year of the Hijra and continued until the end of the eleventh year were, in large part, a result of varied economic and social conditions (Sha'ban,1983 : 30; Daghfous, 1995 I :107), some of which had roots extending beyond the period of the rise of Islam and the emergence of the Medina state as an effective political force in South Arabia. While many aspects of the Ridda movements in Yemen have have been researched and studied by different scholars (Shoufany :101-107-119-125; Daghfous, 2002:68-81; 2001 :17-27 ; Sha'ban, 1983 :31; Djait, 1992 : 33-41; 2015:200-207; al-Hadithi, 1978 : 116; 1987 :187-193; Shuja'a, 1987: 245; Ashour,

1987 :49; Wellhausen, 1958 : 22-24; Watt, 1978:352-364, 386-388; Caetani, 1905 II :587-588, 592-599), the studies that dealt with the economic and social backgrounds of these movements did not do justice to the subject in a sufficient and adequate manner, as they do not exceed some fragments that are often mentioned incidentally in the context of some general studies, despite the great importance of economic and social motives and factors in shaping and determining the course of many major events of this period.

1. The Ridda of Abhala bin Ka'b al-Ansi

The Ridda of Abhala ibn Ka'b al-Ansi from the Madhhij tribe represented the first opposition movement in Yemen to the Prophet Muhammad and his government in Medina, after the general populace of Madhhij (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :185; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* 1965 II : 237; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :195 et seq. Daghfous, 2001:22. Jawadi, 2015 :199; Said Chokri,1989 :46) rallied around him, from the tribes of Zubaid, Murad, Anas, Banu al-Harith bin Ka'b, Awd, Hakam and Janab (Tabari, *Tarikh* III : 230. Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :195. al-Kilai, *al-Iktifa*:151;Diyar Bakri, *Tarkh* II :156.), and they were supported by a large number from the Azd tribe (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :230). The Madhhij tribe, to which Abhala ibn Ka'b belongs, is one of the Bedouin tribes, which reached the interior regions of Yemen upon the emergence of Islam, managed to penetrate deep into the country, and reached even the areas of Lahij and Aden, making the mountains and interior plains their preferred places of settlement, especially in the area known as Sarw Himyar, where the encampments of Dhi Ra'in of the Himyar tribe are located (Hamdani, *Sifa* : 194-195, 405).This suggests that Madhhij was one of the active tribes since ancient times (Hamdani, *Sifa* :180; Begolevskaya, 1985 :174). The new settlements of the Madhhij tribes were interspersed among the settlements of many other Yemeni tribes, but the Madhhij succeeded in displacing them gradually, they also managed to displace other Bedouin tribes that had arrived in these areas, while at the same time establishing alliance relations with some neighbouring tribes until most of the lands of Sarw Himyar came under their control.

On the other hand, the presence of the Madhhij tribes in the central and southern regions of Yemen led to clashes with many influential political and tribal parties in these areas, foremost among them the Persian descendants. Sources indicate the formation of an alliance between the tribes of Zubaid, Khawlan, Banu al-Harith ibn Ka'b, and the people of Najran against the Persians, who in turn succeeded in forming an alliance with the Hamdan tribe (Ibn Saad,*Tabaqat* VI :28; Tabari, *Tarikh III* :214). This conflict of interests between these parties quickly escalated into an armed conflict between Madhhij and Hamdan, with the most

famous episode being the War of al-Razm, which broke out between them during the second year of the Hijra (Hamdani, Sifa :190). The damage to the economic interests of many of the Madhhij clans constituted one of the important reasons that led to the outbreak of those conflicts between Madhhij and Hamdan, to continue at a later stage in the Kaab ibn Abhala al-Ansi movement, which primarily targeted the Persian elements, the Madhhij's old enemies (Piotrovsky, 1987 :85, 229; Saad Abboud, 2009:142).

There is no doubt that the control of the Persian Abna over many economic resources in Yemen and their grasp on the country's most important financial resources were among the main reasons that led to the outbreak of the Ridda of Abhala ibn Ka'b al-Ansi during that early period of the formation of the Islamic state. Although the Abna were not present in all Yemeni regions, they dominated the most important economic centres in the country, particularly in the regions of Aden and Sana'a. In the former, they were able to control maritime trade and regulate its routes to their advantage, which was one of the main objectives of the Persian administration in Yemen. In Sana'a, they seized power after the death of Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan, making it their seat of governance (Mad'aj, 1990 :33). Although the Abna often appeared as strangers, in reality they were closely linked to the country and its people, they were descended from Yemeni mothers and had lineage and kinship ties in many Yemeni clans and tribes (Piotrovsky, 1987 :231).

It is noteworthy that the diversification of the the Abna's wealth sources and their emergence in various economic fields, along with their political power and alliances with many influential tribes in the country, in addition to the close social ties between some of them and the Yemenis, were behind their economic dominance. Moreover, their spread and distribution in specific areas of Yemen were not random but rather a calculated move aimed at controlling the richest gold and silver mines and overcoming the best agricultural sites. Since their entry into Yemen, the Abna have sought to acquire the most important source of silver in Southern Arabia, the Radhradh silver mine, which is what led Hamdani to say that his people are all Persians (Hamdani, *al-Jawharatain*. :146; *Sifa* :151), and due of their large number and their control over this mine was called the mine of Persians (Hamdani, *al-Jawharatain*. :146; *Sifa* :151). The Abna link with the Radhradh mine dates back to the pre-Islamic period (Hamdani, *Sifa* :151). It is also not unlikely that the Persian community in Yemen linked this important mineral site directly to their homeland, Persia, especially since Ibn al-Mujawir mentioned a narrative stating that the road linking Radhradh and Basra dates back to the era of Saif bin Dhi Yazan (Ibn al-Mujawir, *Tarikh al Mustabsir* :214; Mad'aj

1990 :35). Tabari also indicates that Wahriz, the first Persian governor in Yemen, sent silver ingots to Khosrow via the overland route passing through the lands of Rabi'a and Tamim towards southern Iraq (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :169).

Thus, it was inevitable that tensions would erupt between many Yemeni tribes and the Persian settlers, after all the economic and social transformations occurring in the southern Arabian Peninsula up to this early phase of the emergence of Islam. By the seventh year of the Hijra, the tribes of Madhhij gathered under the leadership of their leaders Amr ibn Ma'adi Karb al-Zubaidi, al-Husayn ibn Qanan al-Harith, and Yazid ibn Abd al-Madan, supported by Anbasa ibn Yazid al-Khulani from Khawlan al-Aliya. They then declared a revolution in the al-Jawf region against Badhan the Persian, who hastily formed an alliance with the Hamdan tribe, exploiting the old enmity between Madhhij and Hamdan (Ibn Saad, *Tabaqat* VI :28; Tabari, *Tarikh* II: 214; Razi, *Tarikh Sana'a* :37, 38; Shuja'a, 1987:34).

With the takeover of Sana'a by Abhala ibn Ka'b al-Ansi in the second half of the month of Dhu al-Hajja in the year 10 AH/631AD (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :185; Ibn al-Athir, II :337; Nuwayri, XIX 19: 50; Diyar Bakri, *Tarikh al-Khamis II*. :155; Daghfous, *1995* I :321), the positions of various political forces in Yemen were temporarily resolved. The officials of the Medina government, led by Muadh ibn Jabal, abandoned their posts one after another, Mua'dh fled to Hadramaout, followed by Abu Musa al-Ash'ari (Tabari, *Tarikh* III : 229-230; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* II : 337; al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat* XIX 19: 51-52), while the rest sided with al-Tahir bin Abi Hala the governor of the land of Akk and the Ash'ar tribes in the region of Tihama (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :230; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* II:327), while the Abna were subdued in Sana'a after their leader Badhan was killed (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 229; Ibn al-Athir, *al- Kamil* II :337).What is worth noting is the large participation of the category of farmers and small farmers in the Ridda of Abhala, who were spreading widely in the regions of Sana'a (Tabari, *Tarikh* III : 229; Al-Razi, *Tarikh*:71;Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya* VI:331; Sha'ban, :31) and Madar, which is located twenty miles from Sana'a, and the areas of Hisn al-Midhmar, a mile and a half from Sana'a (Yakut, *Mu'jam*, V:76), Rahba of Sana'a and the areas of Ans near Sanaa (Tabari, *Tarikh* III : 337; Hamdani, *Sifa*, :224; Yakut ,*Muj'am* III :34), and Ajib in the north of Raida (Al-Hamdani, *Sifa,* :410, 456; *al-Iklil*, VIII :18; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III :329; Ibn Kathir, VI :331), Manqil al-Must'jala is located ten miles from Sa'da (Yakut , *Mujam* V :216), and the areas of Janad, Lahj and Abyan, where the habitats of Himyar and Nakha'a (Tabari, *Tarikh* III : 327, 329-330, 331, 337; Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :16-17) are, and many other areas located between Najran and Sana'a (Ta.bari, III : 318-319;

Nuwairi, *Nihayat* XIX :58), along with Sharaja and Ghalafiqa (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :230; Yaqut, *Mujam* III :234; Ibn al-Imad al-Hanbali, *Shadharat* I :13).

It seems that the goal of these farmers was centered primarily on eliminating the economic and social control of the Persian aristocratic class and liberation from the collection system, which was practiced by the class of large landlords and the Medina State agents (Baidhoun, 1979 :31). This is clearly reflected in the letter that Abhala ibn Ka'b al-Ansi sent to the representatives of the city government in Yemen, where he says: "O you who are seeking us, seize from us what you have taken from our land and save what you have collected, for we are more worthy of it, and you are as you are" (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :229). The first act undertaken by Abhala, after seizing Sana'a, was to open the trade route between Sana'a and Aden. For this purpose, he rushed to send a battalion of his aides to secure the movement of trade on this route, this battalion was known as al-Lahjiyya in reference to the city of Lahj, in which it had settled (Ta.bari, *Tarikh* III :323-324, 328-329).On the other hand, the elements who opposed the Ridda of al-Ansi and who were primarily concerned with trade were ready to fight their countrymen in order to open the trade route again with the north, which could not be achieved without the support of the Medina state (Sha'ban, 1983 :31; Daghfous, 2001 :22; Watt, 1978:386-388). Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, who converted to Islam early on and remained loyal to it, was acting as a commercial agent in Mecca on behalf of the people of his country before Islam and continued his work by trade later (Ta.bari, *Tarikh* I:194, 196, 204; Sha'ban, 1983:31).

However, Abhala soon committed a series of tactical mistakes that harmed his movement by retaining the aristocratic elements among the sons of high social standing in Sana'a and marrying the widow of Shahar ibn Badhan, in addition to his neglect of most of his forces when he sent it to control the southern regions, given its great agricultural and commercial importance (Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya* VI:308; Nuwairi, Nihayat XIX 19: 52-53, Diyar Bakri, *Tarikh* II:156). These mistakes gave the sons and the Yemeni elements, who saw in al-Ansi's movement a threat to their interests, led by Qais ibn Makshuh al-Maradi and the major Yemeni landowners, the opportunity to permanently rid themselves of Abhala ibn Ka'b and seize Sana'a (Ta.bari, *Tarikh* III :232, 234; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya* VI:308; ; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'ab*, II :461).

2. The Ridda of Qais bin Makshuh al-Muradi

It should be noted from the outset that the character of Qais ibn Makshuh al-Muradi was distinguished by his ambition for tribal and political leadership. He had a disagreement with

the Medina government during the tenth year of the Hijra regarding the appointment of Farwa ibn Musaik al-Muradi as governor over the Madhhij tribe. Following the battles that took place against his tribe, Qais embraced Islam (Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah* IV:227; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :197; Al-Kila'i, :153). However, as soon as the Ridda of Abhala ibn Ka'b al-Ansi occurred, Qais ibn Makshuh emerged as a prominent leader in his tribe, Madhhij, which made him a candidate to lead al-Ansi's army upon his entry into Sana'a (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 230; Nuwayri, *Nihayat XIX*. :52; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya VI*:308; Jawadi, :200; Djait, *2015,* :204)43. Soon after, Qais allied with the Abna and major Yemeni feudal lords to get rid of Abhala ibn Ka'b al-Ansi (Ibn Saad, *Tabaqat* V: 525; Ibn Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti'ab* II: 461; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah*, II: 129). It is not unlikely that the Abna hinted to Qais about the governorship of Sana'a if he worked to eliminate al-Ansi, as there are indications that Qais became the governor of Sana'a with the encouragement of the Abna (Hamdani, *al-Iklil*, VIII: 21; Al-Kilai, *al-Iktifa*:153).

However, the appointment of Fayrouz al-Dailami as governor of Sana'a by the caliph Abu Bakr following the death of the Prophet quickly provoked the ire of Qais ibn Makshuh (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 323. Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :197), who in turn began to correspond with the rebellious crowds of populace and peasants since the Ridda of al-Ansi, urging them to unite under his command and to expel the Abna from the land of Yemen (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 324). They responded to him, and as a result, he gained control over the city of Sana'a (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 323; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil, II* :*376; Usd al-Ghabah*, II: 129). But soon, a vast gap appeared between the goals of Qais ibn Makshuh and his supporters from the general populace, after the Muradi leader showed ambition for the emirate of Yemen (Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah*, II: 129; Al-Kilai, *al-Iktifa* :153; Ibn Kathir,*al-Bidaya* VI :331) and began collecting taxes in Sana'a for himself48. He then intended to form an alliance with the Yemeni aristocracy when he sent a letter to Dhul-Kila'a al-Himyari, asking him to help fight the Abna and kick them out of the country (Tabari, III: 323; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil, II* :*376*). But his request was met with rejection, as the response to his message came from the populace and farmers who joined his movement, leading to the emergence of a new tribal feudalism replacing the feudalism of the Persians Abna. Therefore, when the war broke out against the sons supported by the Banu Aqil tribe, some of the tribes of 'Akk and the Muslims of Madhhij led by Farwa ibn Muasaik al-Muradi (Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil II* :376; *Usd al-Ghabah* II : 129), the Qais front suffered a major defeat in the Battle of Rahbat Sana'a (Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil, II* :377; *Usd al-Ghabah* II : 129; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya*,VI :331).As a

result, the remnants of the defeated forces retreated towards the northern regions between Sana'a, Sa'da, and Najran (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 235, 318-319).

As for Qais ibn Makhshuh, he had no choice but to surrender himself to the forces of the Medina government (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 235; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah*, II : 129; Al-Kilai, *al-Iktifa* :153), leaving his new allies from the public crowd to continue their movement on the outskirts of Janad and Abyan (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 323-324; Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :16). In the face of this situation, the men of the city state thought of a decisive military action for which they gathered an important group of soldiers, which consisted of an army leaving the city under the command of al-Muhajir ibn Abi Umayyah and including recruits from Mecca and Taif, joined by Jarir ibn Abdullah al-Bajali and those with him from the Muslims of Akk, Ukasha ibn Thawr with his army, Masruq al-Akki and his army, Farwa ibn Musaik al-Muradi and those with him from Madhhij (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :329; Ibn Samura al-Ja'di, *Tabaqat* :124; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, II :377; Ibn Hubaysh :205; Al-Kila'I, *al-Iktifa* :159; Nuwairi, *Nihayat* XIX:.64; al-Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :15). Then the army of Ikrima ibn Abi Jahl was summoned from Mahra to end the "ridda" movement in Abyan, Aden, and the rest of southern Yemen (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 327; Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :17).

In the face of the size of the Muslim army, the rebels chose to take refuge in the area of Ajib, north of Raida (Hamdani, *Sifa* :410, 456; *al-Iklil* VIII :67), because the mountainous nature of Ajib after the flatness of the Raida plain would provide these rebellious groups with the possibility of concealment and resistance against the horsemen of the city's army in this rugged area, especially since most of the rebellious elements were infantrymen (Baladhuri, *Futuh* :119; Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 329; Al-Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :17; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidaya* VI :331; Ibn Khaldun,*Tarikh* II :16). It is also not unlikely that these farmers intended to defend the important agricultural areas in the field of al-Bun, which al-Hamdani describes as: "The place of Ajib al-Ghoula is a great people with Ghoul [i.e., depth] ... and Ajib Manqal is high" (Hamdani, *Sifa* :410, 456). At the outbreak of the war between the two sides, a split occurred in the front of the "apostates" as a part of them headed towards Tihama and the rest fought an unequal battle that soon ended in their extermination (Tabari, III:329; Ibn Samura al-Ja'di, *Tabaqat* :124; Yakut, *Mu'jam* IV :88; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, II :378; Ibn Khaldun, *Tarikh* II :68), then the commander of the Medina army Abu al-Muhajir ibn Abi Umayya ordered his soldiers "to follow the stragglers of the tribes who had escaped, and they killed all those they could kill, not sparing a rebel" (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 329; Al-Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :17; Ibn Khaldun, *Tarikh* II :68).Meanwhile, Ikrima ibn Abi Jahl had

also managed to suppress the rebel movement in Abyan and Aden and made al-Janad a camp for himself (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :327; Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :17).

3. The Ridda of the tribes of Tihama and Hadhramaout

One of the common characteristics of the Ridda of the tribes of Tihama and Hadhramaout was that it occurred during the time when Caliph Abu Bakr assumed power in Medina after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 320; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil, II* :274-275; Ibn Hubaish, *al-Ghazawat* :205-222; Al-Kilai, *al-Iktifa* :159-173). In addition to their demands, which were summarized in their request to be exempted from taxes and to return to the old tribal system (Waqidi*, al- Ridda* :167; Ibn Hubaish, *al-Ghazawat* :205; Al-Kilai, *al-Iktifa* :159-160), this also involved excluding the administrative influence of the Medina government at a time when the new religion had not yet firmly established itself in the hearts of these elements (Annas, 1971 :190). The first movements of rebellion against the Medina government in the Asir region began in the Sarawat Mountains of Shanu'a, led by groups from the tribes of Bajila, Khath'am, and al-Azd under the leadership of Humaidha ibn al-Nu'man, one of the chieftains of these tribes (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 32; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil, II* :374-375).

After the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Khath'am revolted in anger over the destruction of their idol Dhul-Khalasa during the tenth year of the Hijra. However, the governor of the city in this region, Jarir ibn Abdullah al-Bajali, had no difficulty in quelling this rebellion, which it is not unlikely that the priests of Dhu al- Khalasa played some role in it (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 328; Ibn Khaldoun,*Tarikh* II:28; Jawad Ali, 1974, IV:185-186; Watt, 1978 :356-359; Daghfous, 1995 I:351). It is noteworthy that the fragmentation of the Khuza'a, Bajila, and Azd movements and their lack of unity, in addition to the differing reasons for their formation and the varying demands of their leaders, have harmed these movements as they did not pose any significant threat that the Medina state would heed. As for the most dangerous move led by the Yemeni tribes in the Tihama region, it remains the rebellion launched by the tribes of Akk and Asha'ar, residing along the important trade route passing through Tihama and coming from Abyssinia and southern Yemen towards Hijaz (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 328; Yakut*, Mu'jam* I : 118; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil II* : 375). It seems that the sheikhs of these tribes and the guards of the commercial caravans passing through this route have begun to suffer due to the lack of financial returns, what they were obtaining before their lands came under the control and supervision of the emerging Islamic state, where al-Tabari, in this context, points out that the first to revolt after the death of the Prophet

in Tihama the tribes of 'Akk and the Ash'ariyyun, when they established themselves on the coastal road (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 320).

Given the danger this movement posed to transportation and trade between Mecca and Medina on one side and Yemen on the other, the Medina state hastened to confront it with all determination, as al-Tahir ibn Abi Hala, the governor of Akk and the Asha'ar tribes, with the support of Masrouq al-Akki and his fellow Muslims from his tribe, managed to quell this rebellion which considered a great victory (Tabari, *Tarikh* III: 375; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil, II* :320; al-Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :16; Jawad Ali, 1974 IV:185-186). Meanwhile, the Hadhramaout region had also become a stage for a movement similar to what had happened in the Tihama region, but it was more dangerous and significant. This movement was led by the Kinda tribe, known for its ancient political glory, under the leadership of one of its notable figures, al-Ash'ath ibn Qais al-Kindi (Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :66, 75, 78, 80; Al-Yaqubi, *Tarikh II* :132; Tabari, *Tarikh* III:330; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :205-222; Ibn al-Athir, II:378-382; Daghfous, 2001:25-26; Jawadi, :209-210). Since the collapse of its kingdom in the mid-sixth century AD, the Kinda tribe had begun to adopt a nomadic and raiding lifestyle, entering into conflict with the Madhhij tribe from that time. It also had numerous encounters in Hadramaout against the Himyarites, the original inhabitants of the region (Yakoubi, I :296; Jawad Ali, 1974 III:319,379; Pigolevskya, 1985 :174). It is noteworthy that the history of the new Kinda Kingdom in Hadhramaout, during the fifth and sixth centuries AD, indicates that the Bedouin elements played a dominant role in it, both at the general population level and at the ruling faction level (Pigolevskaya, 1985 :174-175,185; Piotrovsky, 1987:133).

As for the news addressing the Ridda of Kinda in Hadhramaout, as reported by our sources, it was characterized by its abundance and diversity. However, Tabari, Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, and Ibn Hubaysh (Tabari, *Tarikh* III:330; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I 66, 75, 78, 80; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :205-222) remain the best at shedding light on the course of this movement in Hadhramaout and its surroundings and addressing the causes and factors behind Kinda's rebellion against the caliphate's government in the Medina (Tabari, *Tarikh* III:330-342; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :66, 75, 78, 80; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* : 222). Ibn A'tham al-Kufi stands out from other historians by providing a series of important reports about the "apostasy" of Kinda in Hadhramaout, such as his clear identification of the fortress of Najir located four miles east of the city of Tarim (Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I:66; Daghfous, 1995 :370-380), in addition to offering answers to many questions that arise

in comparison to what is mentioned in other sources. But that does not mean trusting all the narrations and accounts of the author of the book *al-Futuh*, especially those related to glorifying the feats of his tribe, Kinda, and his negative stance towards Ziyad ibn Labid, the governor of the city over Hadramaout (Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :66,75, 78, 80).

As for the reasons behind the Ridda of Kinda, some of them fall under the category of general causes that were behind most of the rebellion movements that erupted in the Arabian Peninsula following the death of the prophet Muhammad, while others are related to the specific situation of the Kinda tribe and its significant position in this part of Arabia (Shoufany, 1972 :119-125; Daghfous, 2001:17-27; Olender, 1973 :10, 66, 95). But the economic reasons remain among the most important factors that drove this tribe and the tribes of Hadhramaout to take a rebellious stance against the Medina government by refusing to pay the Sadaqa (Waqidi :174), which led Ziyad ibn Labid to seize it by force, resulting in battles between the two sides (Tabari III :332-333; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :57-58; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :205; Ibn Khaldun, *Tarikh* II :68; Ibn al-Hussain, *Ghayat al-Amani* :76; Daghfous, 2001:15-26).There is no doubt that many of the leaders of Kinda considered the measure taken by the Caliph Abu Bakr regarding the obligation to pay the Sadaqa, which included all tribes without exception, to be a dangerous action that contradicted the policy of favouritism that the Prophet had adopted towards this tribe when he gave the Banu Wali'a, the leaders of Kinda, a portion of the fruits of Hadhramaout and made the people of Hadhramaout transport it to them (Ibn A'tham al-Kufi,*al-Futuh* II :60; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :205; Ibn al-Hussain, *Ghayat al-Amani* I:76). This means that many members of this tribe, who were used to receiving taxes rather than paying them, felt for the first time a great injustice and burden from the government of Medina. Notably, in this context, al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindi, one of the leaders of this movement, was one of the major landowners in the Hadramaout region (Tabari, *Tarikh* I:194; Sha'ban, 1983 :31; Al-Bakri, 1956, I :60).

On the other hand, the Ridda of Kinda was not devoid of clear social motives related to the prestigious status held by its noble leaders, who boasted ancient tribal and political glory and took pride in their tribe's honor, which they considered superior to the honor of Quraysh itself (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :175; Daghfous, 2001 :25; Jawadi :210). This perception was expressed by al-Ash'ath ibn Qais al-Kindi when he stated: "For I know that the Arabs will not submit to the rule of Bani Taim ibn Murra and abandon the leaders of the Banu Hashim in favor of others, for we are more deserving and more suitable for it than

anyone else, because we are the kings and the sons of kings before there was a Qurashi or an Abtahi on the face of the earth" (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :175; Jawadi, 2015 :210). This movement included, alongside al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, many other notable figures from the nobility of Kinda, such as Jamad, Makhos, Mashrah, Abda'a, their sister al-'Amurruda, and Abu Simt Haritha ibn Saraka from Amr ibn Muawiya, al-Jabr ibn Qash'am, the leader of Banu al-Arqam, Abu Qurra Al-Kindi, the chief of Banu Hajar, and al-Khanfasis or al-Khanfashish ibn Amr, the leader of Bani Nahd (Waqidi. :184,190; al-Tabari, *Tarikh* III : 332, 334; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I: 53, 55, -56; Jawadi, 2015 :211; Al-Bakri, 1956 :60. These notables were among the wealthy and major landowners of fertile lands with abundant yields in Hadhramaout (Al-Bakri, 1956 :60). Also joining this rebellion were groups of outcasts and populace from the tribes of Hadhramaout, both men and women (Tabari III:341-342, 334; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi I:53, 86; Nuwairi II:124; Jawadi :211), who must have harboured great resentment and hatred towards Ziyad ibn Labid, the caliph's governor, due to his poor policies towards them and his confiscation of their wealth by force (Waqidi, al-Ridda :169; Tabari, *Tarikh* III:338, 341-342; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :85; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :206).

Contrary to what Ibn al-Athir indicates based on a narration by al-Tabari in which he mentions that Kinda had collaborated with Abhala bin Ka'b al-Ansi (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :331; Ibn al-Husain, *Ghayat al-Amani* I:76), the Ridda of Kinda erupted after the death of the prophet Muhammad (Tabari, *Tarikh* III :331; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil,* II:278; Watt, 1978 :355; Daghfous, 1995 I:374). The bloody fighting between the rebels and the caliphate's troops led by Ziyad ibn Labid was sparked by Kinda's delay in pledging allegiance to Abu Bakr and their refusal to pay the obligatory Sadaqa (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :175; Tabari, *Tarikh* III :332-334; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :57, 65-67; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat* :89-90; Ibn al-Hussain, *Ghayat al-Amani* I :76). This occurred when Abu al-Simṭ Haritha bin Suraqa, one of the nobles of Bani Amr bin Ma'adi Karb, confronted the tax collector Ziyad ibn Labid when he attempted to forcibly seize a she-camel for the Sadaqa (Waqidi,*al-Ridda* :169-170; Tabari, *Tarikh* III :332), leading to a rapid escalation of the conflict from Kinda's side into a refusal to pay the alms and a refusal to recognize Abu Bakr's caliphate (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :173; al-Tabari, *Tarikh* III:332; Ibn Hubaysh, *Al-Ghazawat,* :205-206; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *Al-Futuh* I :76; Daghfous, *1995* I:374; Jawadi, *2015* : 208).

Most sources agree that Ziyad ibn Labid declared war against the Kinda tribes one after another, which drove most of these tribes to join this movement under the leadership

of al-Ash'ath ibn Qays from the Bani al-Harith ibn Mu'awiya al-Kindi, after the killing of the four kings Jammad, Makhos, Mashrah, and Abda'a from the Bani Amr ibn Mu'awiya (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :184; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:332; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :57; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :212). Al-Ash'ath also succeeded in rallying a select group of notables from other tribes to his side, such as Jabir ibn Qash'am, the chieftain of Bani al-Arqam, Abu Qurra al-Kindi, the leader of Banu Hajar, and al-Khanfasi or al-Khanfashish ibn Amr, the chief of Bani Nahd (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :190; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *Al-Futuh* I :55-56; Jawadi, *2015* : 211). At that point, the war began to take a new turn, as the rebel front took the initiative to attack the troops of Ziyad ibn Labid and the Muslims of Kinda and Hadhramaout. As a result, they were able to free many captives and return them to their clans (Waqidi, *Al-Ridda* :190; Tabari, *Tarikh* III:335). They also succeeded in besieging Tarim, the administrative headquarters of the caliphate's governor (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :195; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :66, 71, 84).

In light of this situation, the caliphate quickly sent reinforcements led by al-Muhajir ibn Abi Umayyah from Sana'a and Ikrima ibn Abi Jahl from Janad, where they managed to lift the siege of Kinda on Tarim after a decisive battle in the Wadi al-Zarqa located between Tarim and the al-Najir fortress, which in turn became a refuge for the rebel forces (Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:335; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :75-76). Then, Ikrima besieged the fortress, simultaneously confronting those who tried to assist the besieged (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :206; A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :81-82), while the other leaders took charge of suppressing the rebels' movements in various parts of the Hadhramaout region (Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:336). When the siege became burdensome for the people of Najir, the leaders of Kinda entered negotiations with the leaders of the caliphate's forces, who granted safety to al-Ash'ath ibn Qays and seventy of his family and followers (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :207; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:337; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :83; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :216; Daghfous, *1995*, I:386). Then, Ziyad ibn Labid ordered his troops to storm the fortress, leaving no fighter in it except that they killed him and beheaded them (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :211; Ibn Saad, *Tabaqat* III:589; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:338; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :85). In this context, sources indicate that Ziyad ibn Labid killed seven hundred in one morning (Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :93; Yakut, *Mu'jam* V:273).

However, it is difficult for us to accept Ibn Hubaysh's account when he counts these seven hundred as nobles, as he says: "Al-Ash'ath and Ziyad opened Najir and brought out the fighters, and Ziyad targeted their notables, who were seven hundred men, and beheaded

them all at once" (Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :93; Yakut, *Mu'jam* V:273). It is unlikely that the majority of these killed were commoners, who had no status, power, or tribal affiliation to protect them. After the massacre at Najir, the rebels were pursued and killed wherever they were found (Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :217; Kila'I*, al-Iktifa* :169). Meanwhile, some opposing women were punished by having their hands cut off (Tabari, *Tarikh*. III :341-342; Nuwayri, *Nihayat* II :124), while others, numbering a thousand women, were sent as captives to the city along with their children (Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:341-342; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi*, al-Futuh* I :86; Al-Kila'I*, al-Iktifa* :171; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :220).The abandonment of Ash'ath ibn Qays from his people after his reconciliation with the caliphate was one of the important topics in the history of the Ridda of Kinda, because this step on his part reflected an elitist social tendency when he preferred the safety of the faces of the people and the elite of the honorable people (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :211; Ibn Habib, *al-Muhabbar* :244; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:339; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi*, al-Futuh* I :85; Yakut, *Mu'jam* V:273; Al-Khazraji, *as-Suluk* :17). The rest of the rebels trapped in the Najir fortress to be killed, after Ash'ath ibn Qays had deluded them that he would take safety for them (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :211; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi*, al-Futuh* I :82; Yakut, *Mu'jam* V:273), while had agreed with Ziyad bin Labid and al-Muhajir bin Abi Umayya to hand over the fortress with all its contents to them in exchange for the security of seventy of his family and relatives (Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:337-338; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi*, Al-Futuh* I :82, 84-85; Yakut, *Mu'jam* V:273; Al-Khazraji, *al-Asjad* :17). In this context, Ibn A'tham al-Kufi also refers to correspondence between caliph Abu Bakr and al-Ashath ibn Qays regarding this matter (Ibn A'tham al-Kufi*, al-Futuh* I :67,8).

Al-Ash'ath's choice to go along with the Muslims was considered treachery and betrayal in the eyes of the masses, which he abandoned under this agreement. This is clearly reflected in the letter addressed to him by one of the Kindi female captives who said: "You are a disgrace to the arrival of a people and their messenger, you took safety for your family and your relatives, exposed us to captivity, and killed our men with your treachery"(Baladhuri, *al-Futuh* : 141; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:338; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi*, al-Futuh* I :83; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :220; Al-Kila'I*, al-Iktifa* :171). Al-Ash'ath's eagerness to secure a place at the top of the social hierarchy is emphasized by his subsequent marriage to the sister of Caliph Abu Bakr (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :213; Ibn Saad, *Tabaqat* VI:22; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:339; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi*, al-Futuh* I :86-87). There is no doubt that one of the most prominent reasons that led to the failure of Kinda's Ridda was the lack of unity among

its clans, which made it easier for Ziyad ibn Labid, to single them out one by one (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :178-182; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :65, 70, 81). In addition to the raging clan conflict within this tribe, which caused some of its branches to stand in Zayd's favor, it made some of its branches fall in line with Ziyad ibn Labid (Waqidi, *al-Ridda* :173; Tabari, *Tarikh*. III:334, 388; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *al-Futuh* I :65-66; Ibn Hubaysh, *al-Ghazawat,* :206), accompanied by many clans of the Hadhramaout tribe. Who, for their part, were seeking to get rid of the tribal and economic control of Kinda over the Hadhramaout region from previous eras (Yaqubi, *Tarikh* I: 216-219; Olender, 1973 :95).

Conclusion

This study sought to shed light on the different economic and social backgrounds which contributed to the formation of most of the Ridda movements that broke out in Yemen at the end of the Prophet Mohammed's lifetime and during the Abu Bakr's caliphate. It showed that the economic issue underlying the refusal of many Yemeni tribes to obey the Sadaqa payment procedure, which was the most prominent factor that led to the outbreak of these movements, was essentially the product of a fragile economic conditions that had deteriorated since earlier times and which was not easily adaptable, at least at this stage, to the new and sudden organization of the Medina state. Meanwhile, the social backgrounds were strongly present in the debate between the various parties involved in this distressing political phase of Yemen's history. The masses of rebels, who formed the main basis of most of these movements, were nothing more than populace from the villages and valleys, who aspired to rid themselves of the oppression and exploitation of the urban aristocracy, represented by the Persian Abna, the tribal chieftains and the great Yemeni landowners, who, for their part, sought to maintain their positions at the top of the social hierarchy, even if it meant declaring their allegiance and submission to foreign powers similar to the representatives of the Medina state.

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